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Potsdam

The Potsdam Conference of the Big Three is, one is tempted to say, even more important than any of its predecessors—Moscow, Teheran or Yalta. They were concerned mainly with winning the war in Europe and laying the groundwork in principle for a world security organization. This one is probably concerned, not only with winning the war in Asia, but with winning the peace in both Europe and Asia, and with putting detailed substance into the principles of world security.

What is now to be done will, for instance, fix the direction in which a solution will be sought for the most difficult as well as perhaps the central problem of the war—the future of Germany. Failure to coördinate Big Three policies in this respect would itself be a decision, and a possibly disastrous one. The future of European democracy and its economic development also hangs in the balance. Will Churchill, like Metternich after Napoleon, succeed in his apparent endeavor to establish conservatives in power and suppress change? We cannot imagine that Stalin would consent; we are ignorant of Truman's competence in this issue. It would be wise, however, rather than submitting to conservative British policy, if Churchill insists, to wait and see whether his opponents in Britain do not carry a different popular mandate.

Whether Russia joins the war against Japan and by what strategy she wages it are questions of high importance. Of still greater moment, however, are the political terms on which her coöperation is to be obtained. What is to be the future of Manchuria, Korea, Mongolia, even of China and Japan themselves? Will a junction between the Chungking and the Yenan governments be effected? No issues are more loaded with danger for the future.

Truman in the Big Three

At Potsdam President Truman will make his first personal appearance as one of the trio who have held the world's fate in their hands. He will be surrounded by the same military authorities who aided Roosevelt, but he will have a new Secretary of State and new political advisers. He has been in office long enough to learn whatever he did not formerly know about the purposes and commitments of his predecessor, and his knowledge of the international situation must have been enriched by the proceedings at San Francisco. But he has already acted sufficiently on the executive level so that we are justified in assuming that, while he will not differ from Mr. Roosevelt in tendency, he will speak for himself.

There is some ground for the hope that in this role he will act, not merely as a representative of the United States, but as a protector of democratic hopes the world over. Heavy responsibility rests in his hands, not merely to carry out the Roosevelt aspirations but to undo some of the mistakes in foreign policy made under Roosevelt. We should think the direction of these mistakes—as in Poland, Spain and Greece—would by now have impressed themselves upon so alert a mind.

Breakdown in India

Negotiations in India for expanded participation by Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council have broken down. Lord Wavell, in a remarkably frank and moving statement, blamed himself for the failure, but in fact, the chief responsibility seems to lie with Mr. Jinnah, head of the Moslem League. Jinnah insisted that the

CONTENTS

The Week 91

Editorial

Unemployment Storm Warning 94

General Articles

War Emergency Pipelines . . Inge Kaiser 96
The Central Valley Project . Walter E. Packard 98
Turkey and the Straits . . . Heinz Eulau 100
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 102
Plenty of Nothin' . . . . . Manny Farber 103
The Bandwagon 103

Correspondence 104

Books in Review

Tell It Not in Gath . . . . Harry Levin 105
Power Politics in the Far East . . . . . Richard E. Lauterbach 106
One Man's Peace . . . Richard N. Kelly 108
Stateside Army . Sergeant Walter Bernstein 109
Anglophilia . . . . . Willard Thorp 110
A Reader's List 111

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League must speak for all the Moslems in India, and that no Moslem could be added to the Executive Council unless endorsed by him. But in fact there are large numbers of Moslems who do not approve of Mr. Jinnah and are not members of the League; many thousands of them are members of the Congress. It is ironic that the Moslem League should now cause the breakdown in negotiations, in view of the fact that for many years, the British favored it and built it up. While the negotiations have now failed, the door is still open. Indeed, never before has so much general good will been exhibited as on this occasion. Sir Stafford Cripps, who was himself once the hero of a famous effort to solve the Indian problem, has suggested that new elections be held in India for the purpose of creating a constituent assembly and that this assembly should thereupon try to write a new constitution for all the country, or such part of it as is ready. A great deal, of course, depends on the outcome of the British election of July 5, which will not be known until July 26. A British Parliament dominated by Labor and the Liberals would be much more inclined to fair and generous treatment of India than a Conservative government headed by Churchill.

Toward World Organization

The Senate has begun its consideration of the United Nations Charter in a most impressive spirit. Senators Connally and Vandenberg are providing a truly bipartisan leadership to obtain its passage. It is generally expected now that the final vote will be almost as conclusive as the 20-to-0 margin by which the Foreign Relations Committee reported it to the floor.

Administration leaders, meanwhile, have succeeded in arranging for the Bretton Woods Agreement to be considered in the Senate prior to the charter, despite Senator Taft and a few other Republicans. The internationalists successfully argued that action on this essential economic proposal, being even more controversial than the charter itself, was the best evidence the United States could offer to the world of its honest intentions. The careful political prognosticators calculate that when it is presented, Bretton Woods will pass the Senate as easily as it did the House.

But the tough part of the international fight in Congress is still ahead. The isolationists are holding their fire for the purpose of trimming down the powers assigned to the United States delegate to the UNO, delaying action on making the Export-Import Bank permanent, and repealing the Johnson Act, preventing United States private investors from making loans to defaulting European nations after the last war.

The FEPC

Congress has finally compromised the issue of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. After a long deadlock, the FEPC has been given $250,000 for the next year, as opposed to $600,000 which committee members believe is the minimum required to do its job. The bill is confused and ambiguous as to whether the FEPC has now been ordered to go out of business. We earnestly hope that until a clearer mandate from Congress is received, it will continue to function as in the past. The FEPC is an acid test of the intentions of Congress. If this country is not willing to spend $600,000 a year, out of an annual budget of approximately $100 billion, to fight discrimination on grounds of race, creed or sex, America is a good deal farther away from democracy, a good deal closer to fascism, than many people have supposed.

We do not believe that the vote in Congress fairly represents the sentiment of the American people. We think, on the contrary, that it was a demonstration of the abnormally large power of a minority of Negro-hating Southerners from poll-tax states. We hope that next autumn another attempt can be made to marshal public opinion behind the FEPC in such overwhelming strength that the Southern tories will be forced to give up the fight. If this is not done, President Truman's chance of reëlection in 1948 will be seriously diminished. Many thousands of Negroes, both North and South, are saying today that if they have to choose between reactionary Republicans and reactionary Democrats, they prefer reactionary Republicans who at least are not filled, as so many Southerners are, with ideas of racial supremacy that are on all fours with those of the Nazis.

Railroads and Taxes

The Senate Finance Committee has quite unexpectedly thrown out a special provision to aid railroads in the pending tax bill. The railroad lobby succeeded in putting through the House a tax provision which would have required all states to allow reorganized lines their excess-profits credits from 1938 on, and other special favors. The Finance Committee, by a vote of nine to eight, deleted this provision before reporting the tax bill to the Senate for action. Although the committee vote was not officially reported, it has been learned that Senator Robert M. La Follette (Prog., Wis.) proposed striking out the railroad provision and that he was supported by eight Democrats and opposed by seven Republicans and Democratic Senator Johnson of Colorado. After attempting to leave the impression that the Treasury Department was willing to have the railroad-relief provision go through, Chairman Walter George reversed his previous position when a Treasury Department spokesman refuted his statements. The principal railroads to benefit would have been the Wabash and the Pennsylvania. Representative Eberharter, in the House, and Senator Guffey, both of Pennsylvania, deserve special credit for voting against the railroad provision in spite of the special pressures they had to resist. It is now

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up to the whole Senate and the conference committee to support the good sense of the Senate Finance Committee on this question.

The Newspaper Deliverymen's Strike

On Sunday, July 15, the strike which has limited the circulation of newspapers in New York City went into its third week. The members of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union held a meeting and voted overwhelmingly to continue to stay out. Newsstands were limited to *PM* and the *Daily Worker*. Several hundred thousand people, however, were buying papers over the counter from newspaper offices; it was estimated that about ten percent of the city's normal quota of five million papers was being distributed in this way. None of the three parties to the dispute—the publishers, the union, or the War Labor Board—deserves much credit for the handling of the issue during the first two weeks. We feel, however, that the union should go back to work while the dispute is being adjudicated. It is violating the wartime pledge of all labor not to strike, and it is trying to destroy the authority of the War Labor Board, which is an important governmental organ in labor disputes all over the country, and in many situations far more important to the war effort than the question whether New Yorkers have access to their favorite dailies. As it is, the union seems to be playing into the hands of certain of the publishers who undoubtedly want to break the power of this group and either substitute a nationally organized union or go to open-shop conditions.

Military Review

The attacks on Japan by carriers and battleships of Admiral William F. Halsey's Third Fleet constitute, in many respects, one of the most startling developments of the war. Except for punitive affairs in the 1860's, before the government of Japan had been centralized and when the country was far from being a world power, this is the first time in history that an enemy force has stood within gunshot of the "sacred soil" and subjected it to the indignity of bombardment. This is a far cry from the subjection of Japan to aerial attack, even on the scale attained in recent B-29 assaults, for aircraft can penetrate to their targets from remote bases, and it is not necessary to the success of their operations that command of the air should have been achieved beforehand.

In the case of the surface fleet, command of the sea and command of the air (at least temporarily and locally) are both necessary. And the most remarkable feature of the operations against Japan is that command in these two elements should have been achieved so soon, and by the means available to the attackers. It is only three years since the United States and its allies were assured by devotees of a certain school of air power that Japan could be successfully attacked only by long-range bombers of a type which then had not even been blueprinted—a type far in advance of the B-29. The aircraft carrier was dismissed as an inefficient device, a temporary stop-gap; its planes were derided as necessarily inferior to land-based planes. Those were the days when the silly question, "What has any battleship done in this war except sink?" was parroted on every side, and even appeared in the variation: "What have aircraft carriers done in this war except sink?" Japan then was 4,000 miles away from any major base of the United States Fleet, and the tradition persisted that a fleet could not operate successfully at so great a distance from its base. With only the islands of Micronesia between Hawaii and Japan, none of them suitable for use as naval bases, the prospect was indeed bleak.

But traditions have been set aside, and distance has been overcome, and the bogies which the land-based air-power enthusiasts raised have been laid. It is difficult to say which happened first, because the resolution of each problem tended to overlap the resolution of the others. Tradition was being flouted as far back as early 1942, when Halsey first led American aircraft carriers into battle. Halsey, a colorful talker whose words should not always be taken too literally, correctly explained his success as due largely to the element of speed and to the fact that he did the unexpected. There was a period of a year and a half after Midway when American forces in the Pacific did only what was expected of them, and it may be more than coincidence that this was the period during which their progress was slow. It is certain that when they did the unexpected on the grand scale—by invading Kwajalein in-

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stead of the eastern Marshalls in February, 1944—their success was most striking and least expensive.

By that date, the fast carrier task forces of the Pacific Fleet had been built up to an extent which had only been dreamed of two years earlier. The types of aircraft they carried were new and vastly better than those with which we started the war. The carriers had stopped sinking, for all practical purposes. The great difficulty was that the Japanese fleet remained a threat, and it seemed likely that Tokyo spokesmen were telling the truth for once when they said that the fleet would come out to fight when it could do so under an umbrella of air power based on the great islands in the Western Pacific. The two great naval battles, one off the Marianas last June, and the other off the Philippines in October, were both unsatisfactory in many details, but their effect was to destroy Japanese command of the sea all the way back to their home islands.

The crucial test was in the Ryukyus. In strikes down the island chain from Honshu to Okinawa, the fast carrier task forces of the Pacific Fleet (then operating as Task Force 58 under Admirals Spruance and Mitscher) were subjected to cruel attacks by enemy aircraft, including many kamikaze planes which sank no major units, but damaged many. These attacks were intensified while the fleet was pegged down off Okinawa, covering the protracted campaign there because (as at Leyte six months earlier) land-based air power was incapable of taking over the task as soon as had been expected. Yet the fleet came through that ordeal in sufficient strength to be reconstituted as Task Force 38 under Admirals Halsey and McCain, and to engage in the current operations.

Because this is the first war in which the air weapon has been a component of sea power, there is no precedent for the feat which American naval (including naval air) forces have accomplished in the Pacific. For they have won command of the sea, and with it the temporary or local command of the air over northern Japan without which command of the sea would have been impossible. They have struck at the walls of the enemy's stronghold, within sight of the firing slits in his coastal defenses. The sea no longer serves Japan "as a moat defensive to a house." Instead, it serves Japan's enemies as a fairway by which great fleets can approach to attack her shores. And these fleets carry their own sea-going air power with them.

There has never been anything like it before, and probably there never will be again. It is quite likely that in the long run, the carrier will prove to have been a transitional weapon, and that land-based air power (or automatic missiles, or both) will be able to do all that air-power enthusiasts were claiming for it three years ago. But during those three years, the carrier has been forged into a weapon which has brought victory immeasurably nearer while the air power of the future is still aborning.

Unemployment Storm Warning

It is a commonplace in discussion of postwar economic prospects to speak of "transitional unemployment" during the reconversion period. The assumption is that while many workers will be displaced from war industries as production programs are completed and contracts are canceled, most of them will before long find jobs making the goods for which civilians are now vainly clamoring. Mention is customarily made of the immense backlogs of demand for such things as automobiles, household equipment, houses themselves, radios, clothing and so forth. This demand, it is assumed, is backed up by hoards of unused purchasing power in the form of war savings, bank deposits or cash. Transitional unemployment is therefore regarded as something not likely to be serious in either volume or duration. The transition is expected to find its end in another era of high employment when workers will be busy making civilian goods. The chief danger, it is believed, will be to avoid inflation before these goods become plentiful enough to satisfy the demand.

This view of the situation pictures the most fortunate possible outcome, but it ignores a danger of something much worse. Approximately half the productive power of this country has been devoted to war purposes. Already contract termination has caused the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs. If Japan should surrender tomorrow, and war production abruptly ceased, more people might be thrown out of work than were unemployed at the bottom of the Great Depression. Every man or woman who loses his job ceases to be a potential purchaser of anything but the barest necessities. By far the larger proportion of the available savings are in the hands of business concerns and people in the upper income brackets. In so far as the unemployed have funds laid aside for a rainy day, they will certainly not spend them for houses, automobiles or radios. A large volume of unemployment would also cause jobholders to be extremely cautious in their purchases. What may happen, therefore, is not an expansion but a shrinkage of civilian demand. Transitional unemployment may prove to be a step not toward new prosperity, but toward a deep depression.

Almost no preparation whatever is being made either by government or business to prevent such a tragic turn of events. It is sometimes argued that in the existence of unemployment insurance we now have an anchor to windward which we did not have when the last depression hit us. Evidence from the experience of other countries which have had unemployment insurance goes to show, however, that it can do little to turn the tide of a depression but can only moderate some of its worst consequences to the unemployed.

Even in this respect our system of unemployment benefits is full of gaping holes. We have left it to the states to pass unemployment-insurance legislation, with

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only the incentive of a federal subsidy. The result is that most of them pay benefits which are, at the highest, not more than $15 or $18 a week during a maximum period of 16 weeks. What could a workers' family now do with this amount of compensation, and who thinks that a large proportion of those released from war work can be reëmployed within four months? In addition, workers in government arsenals and navy yards, and maritime workers, are not covered by the law at all. Congress apparently intends to take no action for the present on an urgent request by President Truman that the benefits be increased to a maximum of $25 a week for a period of 26 weeks and that the excluded employees be given the same coverage. Even if this were done, it would by no means provide an adequate remedy.

Unemployment insurance has the advantage that if the more fortunate possibilities are realized and joblessness does not prevail, the money need not be spent. The same is true of programs for public works and housing. There is a large road-building program ready to be put into effect, but aside from this, the federal government is virtually unprepared to compensate for any slump in the construction industry. The National Resources Planning Board was engaged in making ready a shelf of public works for this purpose when Congress cut off its funds and ended its career. This program still hangs in mid-air because no further appropriations have been made, even for the preparation of plans and blueprints. Public-housing programs are also unready for any severe emergency. Nor have we passed any carefully devised legislation for needed activities which would increase jobs in the service occupations like public health and education. In governmental postwar planning we are far behind Great Britain, which is now ready to engage in so many activities for the improvement of the common life that she has no fear of unemployment for years to come.

Many business concerns have been busy with the technical details of reconversion, and are ready to proceed as soon as the required materials and machinery can be released. Since no over-all production program for civilian goods has been worked out, however, it is likely that long delays will be caused by shortages of certain essentials. Examples of this sort of difficulty have already appeared. Most corporations have ample funds to carry them over the intervening period, but not many of them will use this money to pay workers who, for the time being, will have nothing to do. Nor is there any likelihood that business will create a boom by huge demands for new capital equipment.

Indeed, part of the reluctance of Congress to proceed with anti-depression measures may be traced to a hope on the part of at least some important employers that widespread unemployment *will* occur. Of course, these employers do not want a disastrous depression and look forward to a prompt recovery. They do, however, wish to bring about general wage reductions, which could be enforced only if large numbers of workers became desperate enough to take whatever wages were offered and unions were so weakened that they could not offer effective resistance.

This policy, genuine though it is, is shortsighted in the extreme. At present wage levels, most industries would make unprecedented profits, provided sales were large. A drastic reduction of the purchasing power of industrial workers would limit markets and make production unprofitable even with lower wage costs. What is still worse, once the wheels of depression were set going, prompt recovery would be extremely problematical. The factors of a downswing are interacting and reinforce one another. Wage deflation achieved through growing unemployment would mean a drastically restricted production, and in the end deflation of prices and profits as well. There is no assurance whatever that the whole process could be ended for many years. Even if there were to be no unemployment at all, the ending of overtime and war bonuses and the shifting of war workers into occupations which already command lower pay would cause an alarming reduction of general purchasing power.

Those members of Congress who are blocking immediate counter-depression measures and the business interests which support them are playing with fire. No sound argument can now be made that, as after the last war, inflation has already proceeded so far that a quick deflation might prove a healthy stimulus to future activity. Prices have been kept fairly well in line and there is no unhealthy expansion of credit. Speculation has been held in check. Failure to prevent a severe depression would now be attributed not to the inevitability of fate or to unlucky mischance, but to deliberate refusal to adopt measures which are available, recommended and widely understood. Those who wish to preserve the system of private enterprise would be ill advised indeed to incur any avoidable risk of the reaction which would be sure to follow such a calamity.

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War Emergency Pipelines

In the disposition of war-emergency pipelines, the Surplus Property Board faces a problem full of dynamite. These two lines, "Big Inch" and "Little Inch," carry crude-oil and petroleum products respectively from Texas to the New York area. Through them is being shipped more than 30 percent of the oil needed on the East Coast and in Europe.

Whenever congressional authorization for government ownership and operation of the lines ends, there will be a scramble for control of these national arteries. The eleven oil companies which are now jointly operating the two lines for the government may be expected to press their claims. Texas oil interests have a stake in them. Natural-gas producers and distributors in the East are figuring on the possibility of converting the lines to gas transportation. Texas industrialists, on the other hand, fear this drain on their supply of cheap fuel. And John L. Lewis may be expected to frown on the intrusion into his territory of a competing fuel. Suggestions for partial operation of Big Inch, using the Western leg for shipment of crude products into the Great Lakes area, are causing concern to Illinois producers. Shipment of refined products into that region through the Western leg of Little Inch would worry Midwest refiners. Privately owned oil pipelines and tanker interests might favor scrapping the lines altogether, or at best tolerate their being held in stand-by condition for reasons of national security.

Small businessmen who would like to enter the industry are concerned about the fact that pipeline operation as now practised obstructs free enterprise in this field. Since the early days of Standard Oil the transportation phase of the industry has been used as a means of preventing access of competitors to both raw materials and markets. The old Standard Oil trust owed its success at monopolization largely to its control of transportation facilities, especially to its ownership of pipelines. It mattered little to the owning refiner whether tariffs were high; instead of chalking up his profits from the refining operation, he drew them from the pipeline division. Competitive shippers, however, were driven away by the high rates. At the same time, the owner of the only pipeline in an oilfield was able to push the price of crude oil down by threatening not to buy at all. Whoever controlled pipelines, controlled the industry. These lines were not only a source of power —they were also a source of great profit. Returns on pipeline operations far exceed those in other phases of the industry. Recently, however, the ICC began to try to limit return on investment to eight percent.

There are 450,000 workers earning their living in the petroleum industry—on 375,000 oil wells in oil fields in 23 states, along 130,000 miles of pipelines, in 400 refineries with capacities ranging from 30 to 150,000 barrels per day, in hundreds of thousands of gas stations. Obviously, these people have a stake in the future of the Big Inches and in the manner in which their jobs will be affected. A national official of the Oil Workers' International Union, CIO, which recently completed the organization of the two lines, expressed his awareness of the strategic position of the Big Inches in the oil industry. He emphasized that "oil workers share the responsibility of planning the future of these national pipelines. The lines must be utilized so as to assure a continued supply of oil to the East, jobs to workers and equal opportunities to businessmen large and small."

To an unprecedented degree the entire population of the country is dependent on oil in this age of the internal-combustion engine. It is an essential fuel and lubricant. If an additional reason were needed why the public should carefully watch the designs of special private interests on the Big Inches, it may be found in its investment of more than $130 million in these government-built lines.

Congress has recognized its responsibility for the disposition of the war-emergency pipelines. It has exempted them along with certain other vital government plants from automatic sale by the Surplus Property Board. Instead, the board is to report to Congress on these facilities, so as to enable Congress to pass on their disposition. What will congressional policy be in disposing of these pipelines? Will that policy satisfy the needs of those groups most closely involved in the oil industry and serve, at the same time, the public interest? How will the policy adopted by Congress be implemented by a practical plan for the Big Inches?

In the Surplus Property Act of 1944 Congress set forth objectives which should govern the disposal of surplus property. They are:

(a) To assure the most effective use of such property for war purposes and the common defense;

(b) To give maximum aid in the reëstablishment of peacetime economy of free independent private enterprise the development of the maximum of independent operators in trade, industry . . . and to stimulate full employment

(c) To facilitate the transition of enterprise from war time to peacetime production and of individuals from war time to peacetime employment;

(d) To discourage monopolistic practices and to strengthen and preserve the competitive position of small business concerns in an economy of free enterprise; . .

(o) To promote production, employment of labor, and utilization of the productive capacity and the natural . . resources of the country;

(p) To foster the development of new independent enterprise;

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(s) To dispose of surplus government-owned transportation facilities and equipment in such manner as to promote an adequate and economic national transportation system.

These admirable objectives are well designed to satisfy the people's interest, the needs of business, large and small, and the expectations of the workers. So far there has been little or no implementation. One specific safeguard for the enforcement of (d) has been written into the Act: Section 20 provides that

> Whenever any disposal agency shall begin negotiations for the disposition to private interests of . . . plants or other property which cost the government $1 million or more . . . the disposal agency shall promptly notify the Attorney General. . . . Within a reasonable time . . . the Attorney General shall advise the board and the disposal agency whether, in his opinion, the proposed disposition will violate the anti-trust laws. . . .

How effectively this provision will prevent monopolization through the acquisition of surplus property will depend on the interpretations rendered by the Attorney General and on the willingness of Congress and the Surplus Property Board to follow these interpretations. The sale of the Big Inch pipelines to one of the major oil companies under this provision would seem questionable, since an anti-trust suit is now pending against them.

The operation of the Big Inches either by an independent, non-integrated company or by the government hinges largely on the cost of operation and on the availability of a continuous flow of crude-oil or refined products, respectively. Can the Big Inches compete with tankers, especially the new war-built 130,000-barrel T2? Some industry men have answered "no." Studies made by Sam G. Spal for the ICC estimate that the cost of shipping a barrel of crude oil from Gulf ports to New York by T2 tankers will be 18.3 cents (including depreciation, taxes and return on investment), compared with an estimated cost of 16 cents per barrel shipped by Big Inch at capacity operation from Longview to New York. This figure includes special pipeline taxes and an eight-percent return on investment, assuming that $60 million would be a fair price for the line, whose construction cost was about $77 million. The respective actual operating costs in these two estimates are 14 cents for tanker and 11.6 cents for Big Inch. More recent estimates have placed these actual costs at 11 cents by war-built tanker, and at 8 cents by Big Inch. In the case of tanker transportation a slight extra charge will have to be added for shipping oil to the point of embarkation and for loading.

The availability of crude oil to feed the line seems assured. Estimates of reserves in east Texas are exceeded by those for west Texas and New Mexico; and there are pipeline facilities to bring the crude to Longview. According to Spal, it takes 109.5 million barrels a year to feed Big Inch. In 1943 production in the east Texas field was 172.5 million barrels, and 137.6 million in the west Texas-New Mexico field.

There is the problem of a market for the crude oil so shipped. If the two or three largest refineries in the New York-Philadelphia area were to obtain their crude through Big Inch, they could absorb its capacity flow. If they were to receive their crude by tanker, however, it would be difficult to find enough of the smaller refineries to utilize 300,000 barrels daily. Those refiners who own tankers or intend to buy them out of government surplus might spurn Big Inch-shipped crude—especially if the pipeline were government-owned.

The cost situation is different for Little Inch. Mr. Spal's source estimates that T2 tankers will carry refined products for a total cost of 15.5 cents a barrel from Gulf ports to New York. This figure assumes a price for tankers of $1,500,000 instead of a valuation of $2,070,000 ("normal" construction cost minus two years' depreciation). He estimates the cost of shipping a barrel of gasoline through Little Inch at 20.2 cents, with actual cost of operation at 11.9 cents. According to figures released by the Secretary of Commerce, however, the operating cost for the first six months of 1944 was only 10.6 cents. When using a lower revised valuation of Little Inch, this figure would result in a total cost of operation of 18.6 cents—closer to one of 17.7 cents by T2, if "normal" construction cost is assumed.

The greater ability of pipelines than of tankers to weather winter climate constitutes a factor favoring continued operation of both Little Inch and Big Inch. For some time their operation will have to be maintained to supplement the output of East Coast refineries for increased wartime requirements of petroleum products. Until the Japanese war ends, or longer, tankers will be diverted largely to overseas transportation. Big supplies will continue to be sent from East Coast ports.

Cost of operation and available input of oil and gasoline seem to permit the future use of both lines. Again the question arises, should the government own and operate them? Should it lease them? Or should it sell them outright? (To scrap the lines would be economically wasteful and it would also perpetuate the monopoly position of present private pipeline owners.)

Facing these issues, ex-Attorney General Biddle pointed out in a recent report on surplus property disposal that "Leasing of plants by the government would not only give business and the government an opportunity to determine more realistically the ultimate sales price, but would encourage bidding by small business furnished with more limited capital resources. . . ." And he suggests that leases include details on future use of plants and levels of production and employment. National security and postwar requirements of government agencies in Europe strongly suggest continued government ownership. Private operation during the war seems to have worked well, although at the rather high price for "management and operation" of $870,-

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000 a year for Big Inch and $880,000 for Little Inch. By acting as real common carriers, the government-owned lines would mitigate the monopolistic stranglehold of private pipeline owners. A competitive pattern might be developed in the oil industry at last. Opportunities would be opened to new business in the field. Employment and production could be maintained at a level designed to meet the public interest.

As wartime controls are relaxed, there will be a splendid opportunity to review the entire oil policy of the nation. This should be undertaken by a well qualified agency. The Senate Petroleum Resources Committee is now holding extensive hearings. To be constructive, the policy developed must effect the true conservation of the valuable petroleum resources without simultaneously maintaining a powerful monopoly.

The program adopted by Congress and the Surplus Property Board with respect to the war-emergency pipelines will be an indication of the firmness with which our government proposes to deal with the economic problems which are menacing the establishment of domestic welfare and world peace. INGE KAISER

The Central Valley Project

Who Is to Profit from Increased Land Values?

As THE PEOPLE of the world face the problems of peace, the age-old issue of who is to get the income from land is again rising as a primary source of controversy and conflict. It will be an important problem in China, certainly, and in India. It is the very center of the current Polish situation. The dictatorships of Spain and Argentina are based upon one kind of answer to it. It is an issue that must be met, and much depends upon how this is done.

It is precisely this issue which is causing the trouble in the Central Valley Project of California. The current attempts to meet it are therefore of more than local interest.

Farm-management specialists have shown that an operator of a family farm in the irrigated portions of California may get from one to ten times more income from his ownership and management than he gets in wages for the labor he performs. As farms grow larger, this disparity increases, and a constantly larger share of farm work is performed by hired hands. As a result, the concentration of land ownership automatically creates a landed aristocracy on the one hand, and a landless labor group, dependent upon its labor income, on the other. There is a trend in this direction in the Central Valley Project, and it is being augmented by tremendous government subsidies.

In addition to the social issues involved in this developing feudalism, there is an immediate and very practical question to be answered: Who is to get the increases in land value, and hence in rent, which will result from project development outside of any increase in value due to improvements financed by the landowners? This increase in basic land value will amount to scores of millions, the exact amount depending in large part upon the ability of consumers to buy the products to be raised. Logically, this unearned increment should be used to repay the cost of the irrigation development first. If it is not used for this purpose, project costs will either have to be paid out of the farmer's labor income, which, in practice, means out of his family's living standard; or they will come out of the general taxpayer's pocket.

The Reclamation Act is based upon the practical theory that the increase in land value should go to family-farm operators who can use it to meet project costs. This Jeffersonian concept of a family farm, worked by the man who owns it, has had hard sledding west of the 98th Meridian, where the irrigated West begins. It requires more capital to build dams and big ditches than the average settler possesses. But the prospect of enhanced land values attracted capitalists seeking large returns and, as a result, the early history of the West is a record of large-scale operations and land speculation. Small farmers found a way to meet this issue by coöperative action. The Irrigation District Act of California, passed in the early 1880's, provided for development of irrigation projects by rural people on the same basis that city people built domestic water systems. Revenue bonds could be issued and the land assessed to meet construction costs. Lands belonging to large landowners could be forced into districts against the will of the owners.

The Central Valley Project, however, presented a problem which the Irrigation District Act could not solve. Costs were too great to be met by ordinary revenue bonds requiring the payment of interest on the whole indebtedness. The project was doomed unless help could be obtained from outside. So California asked for government aid. The long established policy of the Bureau of Reclamation of granting interest-free money for federal irrigation projects seemed to fill the bill. It was, in fact, a "natural," except for the fact that the government asked something in return for the interest-free money. Congress stipulated in the Reclamation Act that no water from any federal project should be sold to the owner of more than 160 acres of land. It also stipulated severe penalties for the sale of land in excess of 160 acres at speculative prices.

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These measures seem sound in principle to the small farmer and to the public. The facts are clear: adequate-size family farms use land more intensively, produce more per acre, yield a higher income per acre and employ more labor per acre than industrialized farms do. But the restrictive measures are bitterly opposed by the large landowners, who are not only trying to dodge them but are also attempting to avoid repaying the interest-free money appropriated by Congress.

The most flagrant example is the Kern County Land Company, the largest landowning company in California. In 1939, it owned more than a million acres in the United States and 187,000 in Mexico. It also owns land in more than a dozen oil fields in Kern County, including Elk Hills. Most of the 400,000 acres in California owned by this company are located in Kern County. The proposed Friant-Kern canal was designed in part to serve this area. It will extend about 40 miles into Kern County and approximately half of it is located on Kern County Land Company property. The canal will end at the high-line canal south of the Kern River, belonging to the company. In this proposed course it will cross several company canals. More than 160,000 acres of good land belonging to the Kern County Land Company lie under this proposed canal and can be irrigated from it—more than half of all the good land in the county which can be served by the canal. In addition, the company owns another 12,000 acres of excellent land lying above the canal, within easy pumping lift.

In its efforts to avoid the restrictions of the Reclamation Act, the company's first move was to have the Friant-Kern canal built as a war measure, without any government contracts to cover the land-limitation and anti-speculation measures of the Act, and without providing for the repayment of project costs. This was prevented by the WPB on the basis of facts developed by a committee appointed by the Bureau of Reclamation to investigate the matter. The next move called for the boring of deep wells along the borders of the Kern County Land Company property, so located as to enable the company to pump water from under adjoining lands without repaying the government for replenishing the underground supply. Many of these pumping plants are now in operation and the level of the ground water in adjoining areas is dropping. This same technique, it is reported, was employed by the Standard Oil Company in Kern County, in drawing oil from the Naval Reserve in Elk Hills. Then came the Elliott amendment to abolish the 160-acre limitation, attached as a rider to the rivers and harbors bill—killed on the floor of the Senate last December because Representative Elliott would not withdraw the amendment.

The latest chapter in this drama is the passage of the Flood Control Act, which authorizes the Army Engineers to spend $6,800,000 in building the Isabella Reservoir on Kern River as a flood-control measure, with a free grant of most of the cost under the traditional Army Engineers' policy. As it happens, the Kern County Land Company owns most, if not all, of the rights to the flood waters to be stored behind this dam. By an exchange of water, facilitated by the building of the Friant-Kern canal, the Kern County Land Company could use a large part of the stored water for the irrigation of 150,000 acres of rich land in a high-producing thermal belt along the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, south of Kern River, which lacks a dependable water supply. This move may have been checked by last-minute amendments to the Flood Control Act giving the Secretary of the Interior certain rights over the irrigation and power phases of the project. The adequacy of the amendments, however, is open to question.

The Irrigation District Act of California is the key to the solution of the problem. That portion of the Kern County Land Company holdings which would normally be served by the Friant-Kern canal can legally be voted into a large district and thus be made subject to land assessments to cover project costs. The Act also provides an effective means of charging for the replenishment of the ground-water reservoir. Under this law, the district can collect these costs by assessing land values. This is an extremely important point, because no other way has been found by which costs for ground-water replenishment can be collected.

This state instrumentality could be used effectively if Congress made appropriations for the construction of canals contingent upon the organization of a district which would include all large land holdings to be benefited, and contingent also on the consummation of a contract between the district and the Bureau of Reclamation covering all conditions established by law; and by transferring all flood-control projects which in any way concern irrigation or involve power development, from the Army Engineers to the Bureau of Reclamation. Unless these two things are done the government will lose its favorable bargaining position; large landowners will be further entrenched as the recipients of millions in unjustified public subsidies; and the public will pay the bill in both money and social costs. It would, of course, be fatal to refuse appropriations to the Bureau as a means of forcing local action, and at the same time grant appropriations to the Engineers. The result would be a drive to eliminate the Bureau and its self-liquidating policy and to support the Engineers in their give-away policy. The whole problem should be considered as a unit by Congress.

It is important that something be done at once, because the Bureau, in all probability due to fear of Army competition, has announced that construction of the Friant-Kern Canal will commence in August, although no contracts have been signed requiring com-

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pliance with the law or repayment of costs by the Kern County Land Company or any other large landowners.

It is true that the 160-acre provision of the Reclamation Act is too rigid and could well be modified. The acreage required for an adequate family farm could be determined by the Secretary of the Interior in coöperation with the USDA and the College of Agriculture of the University of California. The acreage might well vary according to the productivity of the soil and its crop-adaptability. Landowners who conformed would be able to enjoy the full advantages of federal financing. Those who insisted upon monopolizing the land and water resources of the project might do so, but they could be made to pay a surcharge representing a reasonable rate of interest on the indebtedness, in addition to the regular payments, the surcharge to apply to excess lands only. This would not be a heavy burden for those who own a few acres over the limit, but it would effectively absorb all of the basic increase in land values and would remove the monopoly incentive behind large-scale land ownership. A surcharge could also be imposed on anyone selling excess land above the price set by the Secretary—a surcharge which would equal the full excess of the price. The details of such a plan have been worked out and could be incorporated into law at the present session of Congress.

In final analysis, the situation calls for the establishment of a federal authority on the pattern of the TVA. But meanwhile, the existing law can be modified, and then rigidly adhered to. If this is not done, large landowners and speculators will get the increase in land values and the cost of the project will come out of the living standard of farm families or out of the general taxpayer's pockets. WALTER E. PACKARD

This is the second of three articles on the Central Valley Project of California. The third will appear in an early issue. – THE EDITORS

Turkey and the Straits

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE of the Big Three promises to be the first scene of the last act of what may be called the modern version of the "Drama of the Straits." Whether or not the drama will be repeated in the future depends largely on the willingness and ability of the great powers to put the United Nations Charter to practical use as an instrument of peace. For the Straits question is a classical example of an international problem which can only be solved by a genuine international settlement. At issue is the future of a waterway, focal point of the strategic land and sea routes between Europe and Asia, between the Black and Mediterranean Seas, which is located in the territory of, and now controlled by, one of the world's most stubborn small powers, but which has always been the object of big-power politics.

Ever since Russia notified Turkey on March 20 that she was seeking a substantial revision of the Russo-Turkish treaty of friendship which will expire next November, speculation has been rife as to what modifications the Soviet Union would want in the status of the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. It was not surprising, therefore, that toward the end of June Russia made a number of specific demands on Turkey, including a change in the administration of the Straits. If the Russians also demanded a return to the USSR of the districts of Kars and Ardahan, ceded to Turkey in 1921, as well as acceptance by Turkey of changes on her Bulgarian frontier, it should be remembered that the Russians are hard-headed diplomats who begin by asking more than they expect to get. With regard to Kars and Ardahan, a recent Ankara broadcast stated that this "is believed to be a relatively minor affair." The real issue is the Straits, an issue that is closely linked with the future of Russo-Turkish, Anglo-Turkish and Anglo-Soviet relations.

Bottled up in the Black Sea, Russia has long wanted a free outlet to the Mediterranean. For more than a century she has alternated between two methods in her efforts to gain control of the Turkish waterway. One was to seize the Straits (which led to numerous wars between the two countries); the other was to make a friend of Turkey. Both methods failed, partly because Russia could never muster sufficient military strength, partly because other big powers, especially Germany and Great Britain, thwarted her efforts. And it is unlikely that either method will succeed in the future. This is why Russia might prefer—admittedly out of self-interest—an international solution.

Turkey has nothing to lose from such a solution. In the war years her foreign policy was necessarily determined by the play of power politics which she fully exploited to her own advantage. As long as Germany was a military threat to her security, neutrality was the wisest course. Her greatest concession to the Allies was the stoppage, in April, 1944, of further chromium shipments to Germany. But the move suggested that the Turks, in spite of German troop concentrations along the Balkan frontier and German air activities in the Aegean, no longer feared Nazi military might.

However, fear of being overrun by German armies was not alone responsible for Turkish neutrality. It was to a large extent prompted by the conflicting policies of Great Britain and Russia. Both powers are traditionally interested in the control of the Straits. Turkey adroitly manipulated these conflicting inter-

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ests. The cat-and-mouse game of the two powers had temporarily ended at the Montreux Conference of 1936 when Turkey won the support of both in being permitted to refortify the Straits, gaining exclusive control. Russia championed Turkey's cause because she wanted British warships kept out of the Black Sea in the prewar appeasement era of mutual fear and suspicion. The British supported the Turks because a friendly Turkey, in control of the fortified Straits, was believed to be an obstacle to German eastward and Russian southward expansion.

As the war approached their frontiers, the Turks bullied the German high command, then considering an offensive through Asia Minor. In the critical summer of 1941 Turkey informed Germany that she would not grant unopposed passage to the Nazi armies. And when the German offensive did not come off, her cynical statesmen credited Turkish neutrality alone with having protected British interests in the Near and Middle East. Great Britain, which had signed a treaty of mutual assistance with Turkey in October, 1939, could not deny that claim. For the pact provided that Britain (and France) should supply Turkey with war materials, an obligation that could not be fulfilled in those darkest hours of Allied fortunes. It gave Turkey a foolproof excuse for her neutrality policy.

But criticism of Turkey's neutrality unexpectedly came from Russia. In the middle of September, 1943, the Soviet journal, *War and the Working Class*, blasted Turkey in an editorial entitled "Who Has Profited Most from Turkish Neutrality?" Recalling that Turkey had signed a non-aggression pact with Germany only a few days before the German invasion of Russia, it was charged that "if Turkey had not been neutral, Germany could not have fought on the Soviet front." Turkey was accused of benevolent neutrality toward Germany, of ensuring the safety of the Reichswehr's Balkan flank, and of thus prolonging the war.

Why did the USSR throw this monkey-wrench into the Anglo-Turkish negotiations then going on? Russia was obviously alarmed. The Moscow Conference of October, 1943, had not as yet been held. Relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies were still in the stage of mutual suspicion. The Russian government did not wish to see British influence in Turkey grow too strong. Churchill himself had conferred with Turkish leaders after the Casablanca Conference earlier in the year. The British were building air fields in Turkish Asia Minor. The United States had announced lend-lease aid to Turkey. The sudden Russian attack was expected to embarrass Great Britain and bring Turkey back into the Soviet orbit. This is exactly what happened. Foreign Secretary Eden's conferences in November, 1943, with Turkish Foreign Minister Numan Menemencioglu at Cairo failed to bring Turkey into the war. (Russia wanted Turkey to enter the war on her own terms of course, not Britain's.)

If Teheran meant anything, it meant the setting up of spheres of influence. Turkey, it seems, was placed in the Russian sphere. It has been reported that at the discussions held after Teheran at Cairo, the Turkish President, Ismet Inonu, asked Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt whether they were ready to guarantee Turkey's independence against the Soviet Union if the latter should try to make Turkey a Russian satellite and possibly annex the Straits. The answer, according to the New York *Times* of December 8, 1943, was: "While assuring President Inonu that Moscow had no territorial aspirations in Turkey, Britain and America cautioned him to get on well with Russia, since Turkey could not count on the aid of British-American troops if a Russo-Turkish split developed." The cancellation of Anglo-American arms shipments to Turkey followed in early March, 1944.

But Teheran was succeeded by Yalta, where the unfortunate policy of spheres of influence, if not completely scrapped, was at least modified by a policy of finding more lasting international solutions for international problems. In the case of the Straits, particularly, Britain had now realized that her reinforced position in Greece—itself a result of Teheran—and her newly won position in the Aegean had somewhat modified her apparent previous lack of interest in obtaining an international settlement of the Straits question. Consequently, the future of the Straits was discussed at Yalta, though no final agreement seems to have been reached.

Russia's recent demands—the details of which are not yet known—therefore need not be considered a threat to Turkey. And judging from reports that Turkey all along has been informing Britain of the Russo-Turkish negotiations, it may be assumed that Russia's requests were directed at Britain as much as at Turkey. From what is rumored about the Russian demands, it would appear that her maximum request is for administration of the Straits by an international commission in which Russia would have clear leadership, or, at a minimum, for the Straits to be opened to vessels of all nations without restriction.

Whatever settlement is reached at Potsdam, it would not preclude, of course, the conclusion of a military alliance between Russia and Turkey—which both seem to want—or the continuation of the Anglo-Turkish alliance. But the most desirable solution would be one that would prevent the recurrence of a situation so full of explosive possibilities, a situation which underlay the Montreux Convention and, during the war years, proved to be an anomaly. Here, then, is a great opportunity for the Big Three meeting: to create an international commission for the supervision or control of the Straits, a commission which would function under the United Nations Organization.

HEINZ EULAU

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Washington Notes

After the Charter Is Ratified

THE FIGHT on the United Nations Organization Charter is all over—and has just started. Its opponents have escaped a first-rate licking by retreating to what they regard as stronger positions. The preliminary Senate fight on Bretton Woods is just an indication of the difficulties that will face attempts to implement the new charter. The chief American dangers to international coöperation now arise from over-confidence and the fact that the charter has been oversold by its friends to the public. These are some of my conclusions after listening to Senate testimony to date.

Let me begin by candidly admitting a mistake. I supposed that the big battle would come over ratification. I was wrong. Starting about two months ago, to the amazement of practically all Washington observers, there came evidences of such a popular groundswell in favor of international coöperation as to sweep aside all legislative opposition. I can't recall anything quite like it. It was one of those cases where the public simply made up its mind, and that was that. Voters didn't want the Wilson-Lodge fight repeated. You got the first big sense of it here when, on June 7, the House adopted the Bretton Woods program, by the vote of 345 to 18. It was soon obvious that the direct charter opposition was crawling back into the cracks.

This past week of exposition before the Foreign Relations Committee has been queer. If you had sat here with me I think you would have been discouraged—not by the charter's foes but by its friends. To get maximum support and reassure doubtful Senators, supporters stressed how little it accomplishes. While friendly editorials have been "selling" the charter to the man in the street, Senators Connally and Vandenberg, as well as State Department advisers Leo Pasvolsky and John Foster Dulles, have been giving the committee the facts of life: the charter is a good start, but its implementation rests largely on moral force. The ol' debbil, National Sovereignty, hasn't been touched.

Here's what the committee was told: America can quit the United Nations Organization any time, ditto for other powers; it can block use of force by its veto, ditto for other big countries; there's a new World Court, to which this country doesn't have to submit cases unless it wants to; the Monroe Doctrine and the equivalent doctrines of other nations aren't greatly affected; one nation can't interfere with such "domestic" affairs of another as cutthroat tariffs, racial discrimination and economic exploitation. Then, just as idealists were muttering to themselves that, anyway, the charter could be amended and improved, the apologists explained to isolationist Senator Millikin (R) of Colorado, that amendment would be very, very difficult—almost impossible.

All of this is no reason for throwing out the charter, but it shows how isolationists can willingly approve it and start the fight on a new level. The fight is going to come over implementation. It has begun in this Bretton Woods contest, although I think that will be nothing to what will come later. Here are three hurdles: First, Congress has got to decide, by majority vote, what powers the American delegate is going to have to commit the United States to armed force (*i. e.*, are we going to have a regular world fire-fighting system, or must the delegate come back for a special vote whenever a conflagration breaks out?). Second, a separate treaty must be negotiated (requiring a two-thirds vote of the Senate) to determine what "armed forces, assistance and facilities" (cf. Art. 43) will be made available to the Security Council, and where and when they shall serve. Third, Congress has got to vote economic implementation in a hundred different directions, starting with Bretton Woods.

I think it was a shrewd bit of strategy to put the Bretton Woods issue up to the Senate before the vote on the charter, and the Tafts, Millikins and Bushfields were obviously disconcerted. But the big point is, the charter fight isn't over. The charter is going to be ratified almost unanimously—and then, if public apathy sets in, the fight will be lost. Otherwise it's just begun.

President Truman's popularity with the public now surpasses that of President Roosevelt except in the opening days of the New Deal regime, according to opinion polls. At the same time, the structure of the Democratic Party gets more and more shaky, as illustrated by the latest row over the FEPC. Truman's popularity rests largely on the fact that he is still all things to all men. An extraordinary report to NAM membership by Walter Chamblin Jr., executive director of the NAM's Washington office, dated June 20, on "Business Under Truman," comes to my attention. It eulogizes the new President. Those who feared one-man rule need fear it no longer, says this surprising document; the reactionary NAM is told that Mr. Truman "has but one ISM in his make-up and that's Americanism."

Mr. Truman, sooner or later, must show his hand and then he will lose support from one side or the other. So far his political lieutenants have been cool and distant to the CIO-PAC, without whose help the 1944 landslide might not have occurred. Many of the 13 million American Negroes also must have been alienated, once and for all, by the Democratic Bilbo-Eastland filibuster against the FEPC. The Negro vote is the balancing factor in many Northern cities. Yet last week, almost exultantly, Senator Bilbo predicted a race riot in Detroit: "Mr. President, it will come!" he shouted. "It is bound to come. It is sure to come. There is only one solution."

And how will his "solution" look, when the GOP reprints it in 1948? "Mr. President, I do not believe in discrimination. I believe in segregation. Segregation is not discrimination!" cried Bilbo. No Democrat rose to contradict him, but a Republican did, able and enlightened Wayne Morse of Oregon. Then again, the small-minded Democratic politicians behind Truman are trying to get rid of Harold Ickes, who after Wallace himself represents liberalism, integrity and administrative effectiveness among Roosevelt hold-overs. Mr. Truman has a big problem at the Big Three parley. He has another at home.

Notes.—Neither bombing nor bombs reached their limit in Germany, the evolution of destructiveness is still accel-

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erating, and the Japanese have something new to learn. . . . Non-fraternization has flopped, now the question is whether plans for German forced, or "slave," labor will be carried through; no single step carries a bigger potential United States reaction in favor of Germany than the institution of a harsh policy. . . . An American opinion poll, showing half of those answering to be in favor of full cash payment for goods sent via lend-lease, has deeply disturbed British circles here.

Washington T. R. B.

Plenty of Nothin'

"RHAPSODY IN BLUE" is an interminable juvenilizing and denaturing of George Gershwin's person, career, friends, relatives and a period from about 1905 to 1937, which sacrifices biography even more extensively than did "Wilson" to indifferent performances of songs. The movie is two and a half hours and what seems like 5,000 song-choruses long, and during great stretches of it you hardly see Gershwin except for an occasional shot of him listening to somebody sing his songs or a close-up of his hands doing rapid two-finger runs over a grand-piano keyboard. The problem of making music eloquent in a movie is as hard as any I know of, and the music in this comes through effectively only by fits and starts. The finest musical intervals turn up in an occasional spot where the music has been subordinated almost to the status of a background, or where the view of the performer—as in Joan Leslie's singing of "You're So Delicious"—remains static, or where the music has been accented rather than destroyed by a violent contrast of action on the screen. For the most part both the image and the music are nullified by being played for maximum effect at the same moment—the most common procedure being to change the screen image as rapidly as the musical image is changed, and obliterating both. The songs are also dulled considerably by performances that are supposedly styled to a period in the twenties or early thirties but are diluted with a pretty, immaculate, lush, modern movie manner of singing, make-up and stage decor, the most destructive element being the hundred-piece Phil Spitalny-like orchestral accompaniment. A number of Gershwin concerts are shown in a conventional way (with mirrors set behind keyboards, players in the orchestra isolated, posed dramatically and lit up like a Hollywood opening), but there is one passage at the end that is likably less ordinary and polished, and almost hysterical. It consists of various nervously changing views of a performance in Lewisohn Stadium, starting directly above the pianist's hands and moving out over the audience to a mile or so behind the stadium and ending up with a shot from the clouds—the purpose being to show that the composer is in heaven and that his music is a product of the people and for the people and now belongs to them.

The music isn't the only element in "Rhapsody in Blue" that is diluted in one way or another. Robert Alda, who plays the Gershwin role, is much less virile, eloquent and Jewish than Gershwin, though he looks like Gershwin in one shot—an ingenious close-up of him with his teacher that is angled to make his face long and narrow and to accentuate nose, mouth and cheeks. Alda's looks, his bland, relaxed manner of acting, and the script's jolly, worshiping portrait of Gershwin which has him smiling at every other moment of his screen career, make his personality resemble that of a musical-comedy juvenile. The script accents two of his characteristics—his egotism and his hurry to compose everything he had to compose—in a way that makes them seem twice as pleasant to live with as they probably were, and uninteresting as characteristics. His love affairs couldn't possibly have been as vapid and predictable as the two shown here, though Joan Leslie uses her Most-Popular-Girl-in-the-Senior Class quality in a way that partially redeems one of them. The Jewishness of the Gershwins is made vaguely evident by fearfully playing an occasional Jewish melody in the background and by using for comedy purposes a limited number of Jewish attitudes, some of which are pretty funny. Most of the scenes are written in the standard biographical-movie way, so that each has its joke, each shows the hero scoring one more victory, and each uses the people around Gershwin (who are acted quite well in most cases) as though everything they ever said or did in their lives was concerned in helping, praising or explaining the composer.

One of the better sequences is a Gershwin party with Gershwin and Oscar Levant kidding a two-piano improvisation in a noisy, flashy, convincing party way; following that, there is a nice group-singing of "Bidin' My Time" that seems just right for the moment and for the tune. Gershwin's taste in homes is realized with skill in at least three different sets: a modern Hollywood number and another closer to the Grauman era, and an earlier Bauhaus-influenced job, all of them stadium-sized, heavily packed with blocky, homely furniture of which each piece is just barely out of relation to its neighbor. There are a number of good things in the final Hollywood sequence besides Ira Gershwin's sports jacket with large brass buttons, and the people who play Broadway characters often get a lot of Broadway into the movie. MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Most economists are agreed that we should be prepared for trouble any time after 1950. As to what form this trouble takes depends largely upon the success or failure of the Russian Communist experiment. If, after 1950, Russia, with the rest of the world, suffers from unemployment, we have not much to fear.—*From Roger W. Babson's syndicated column.*

One amusing by-product of the strike was the sight of a well known member of the New York Stock Exchange seated in his chauffeur-driven car at the station [at Asbury Park] reading a copy of the *Daily Worker*.—*From the New York* Times.

The Garrison lastly warns that it sincerely believes that any further coddling or toleration of communism in our country will be to our sorrow as a nation, and recommends throwing out of the country all foreign-born and giving American-born Communists the fullest extent of the law.—*A letter from Taylor Bennett, Adjutant of Hought Garrison, Army and Navy Union, in the Follansbee, West Virginia,* Review.

How *Do* You Do?

Technical Sergeant —— —— of the medical division of the United States Army is at his home for a stay of 30 days. He has been overseas for three years, most of which time was spent in

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Germany taking care of prisoners of war. Upon his return he met a new arrival, his ten-months-old daughter, Elizabeth. – *From the Greenwich, Connecticut,* Bulletin.

Tough-Peace Department

Germans who think that they are going to have things easy in the zone occupied by American forces have another think coming. They not only will be under a military government, but they are to be harassed by New Deal bureaucrats. German business men will have to FURNISH WHATEVER RECORDS OR OTHER USEFUL INFORMATION IS DEMANDED OF THEM, AND WASHINGTON BUREAUCRATS, as American businessmen already know, ARE WIZARDS AT THE QUESTIONARY RACKET. – *From the Denver* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Pegler, Labor and Soldiers

SIR: The other day my father sent me a letter enclosing a clipping from the Washington *Times-Herald*. On one side was a Westbrook Pegler article pretending to expose racketeers in Tobin's Teamsters' Union in New York City—a perfect example of this columnist's peculiar brand of journalism. It ended with a suggestion that perhaps returning servicemen would like to do something about it, which my father underlined with a red pencil. On the other side was a picture of two dead Marines on Iwo Jima, and above it my father had written, "While the racketeers at home go unpunished." I sat down and devoted three typewritten pages to explaining certain simple facts about Westbrook Pegler, yellow journalism, why what he said was inaccurate, labor unions, the closed shop and current social problems.

Afterward, when I had thought it over, especially the effect of clippings like that on servicemen who are thousands of miles away from the facts, I got positively enraged. I felt like writing to my father and saying, "What did you do to prevent this war? What did your — — American Legion do to prevent it? What are you doing to make a better future? Is there any reason other than benevolence why I should sit out here on this dreary mound of coral in the middle of the Pacific and try to preserve you? I know that you are kind, and I know that you hate war, but that is not enough. Any fool can be kind, and any fool can hate."

c/o Pm, San Francisco SERGEANT P. S. F.

Training Our Soldiers

SIR: Several months ago [September 25, 1944] you published an editorial with the title "A Waste of Good Material" on the subject of the Army Specialized Training Program. You commented on the transfer of men enrolled in this program to services *where they had little or no opportunity to make use of the* special abilities for which they had been rated superior. That is, the editorial implied, the army had deprived itself of the use of the trained skills of these men by depriving them of training which had been promised them—on the basis of intensive tests.

It seems to many people now that the country needs to train these men of demonstrated superiority for scientific and professional positions as rapidly as possible. As it is, we shall feel for some time to come the four-year deficiency in trained men the war has made inevitable.

Is there any way of bringing to the attention of the country the need for training these men in our colleges at the earliest possible moment? The men need the training and the country needs them trained.

Pittsburgh, Pa. MRS. H. C. SHUPP

Erratum

SIR: An unfortunate misprint occurred in my article on price control in the July 2 issue of the *New Republic*. On page 13 a sentence was written as follows: "*If* government agencies attempted to prevent excessive war profits, they have not succeeded." As the sentence appeared, the "if" was omitted. As was clear from the context of the preceding paragraph, government agencies do not attempt to fix profits. Any effects on profits are incidental. Therefore, the omission of the word "if" gives a misleading impression.

Cambridge, Mass. SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Eugene Forsey of Ottawa writes to point out "certain errors and omissions" in what he calls "the excellent article" by Robert Leigh Weaver ("The Canadian Elections," *New Republic*, July 2). In reference to Mr. Weaver's claim that in the last war the Progressive Conservative Party first realized its attempt to be "all things to all voters," Mr. Forsey says, "I hold no brief for the Conservative Party, but the simple historical fact is that the statement about the last war is untrue. In that war, the Conservative Party introduced conscription and fought on that platform throughout the country, in Quebec and out of it." Mr. Forsey also believes that: "Mr. Weaver might have pointed out that the CCF got more seats and more votes than any other party west of the Great Lakes, and that if we exclude Quebec, it got the largest service vote of any party. . . . For the service vote outside Quebec, the figures are: CCF, 103,280; Liberals, 96,351; Progressive Conservatives, 82,466."

Eleven Argentine citizens now living in the United States send us the text of a telegram sent by them to the president of the University of Buenos Aires. The telegram, in part, says: "We request you convey to Argentine professors and students our warmest expression solidarity with courageous gesture in favor constitutional normality. Foremost newspapers United States . . . print extensive articles about subversion, immorality, abuse of power and abandonment of most elementary principles of responsibility and righteousness in government. . . . Good name of Argentina before world opinion cannot be restored by government so completely discredited. Only genuinely elected authorities will be able repair damage caused by these two years of shame."

The American Labor Party sends us a memorandum warning servicemen who were residents of New York State that their applications for ballots to vote in the coming elections must reach the New York State War Ballot Commission (80 Centre Street, New York City 13) on or before September 1, and no later than October 15. Applicants should state, "I am in actual military service and do hereby apply for a war ballot," and should give their New York State address, full military address and signature. Printed application forms may be obtained from the American Labor Party, 570 Seventh Avenue, New York 18.

The United Nations Information Organization, New York, announces that, in coöperation with the Library of Congress, it will issue the documentation of the conference as released by the conference for publication provided there is sufficient demand. The documents, amounting to about 12,000 pages, will be reproduced by photo-offset in eight bound volumes, in the two working languages of the conference, English and French, on alternating pages. Libraries and individuals should address inquiries to the Secretary-General, the United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20.

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Books in Review

Tell It Not in Gath

THE PHILISTINES having consolidated their position since Matthew Arnold's day, sweetness and light have proved inadequate defenses against the bitterness and heat of their further aggressions. Criticism, abetted by the impact of the current war, has made every effort to appease them, with such success as appeasement inspires and commands. This is where James T. Farrell, never the man to sidestep a promising fight, has brought his slingshot to the rescue of culture. Already the Goliaths of academic humanism, doctrinaire Marxism and wartime chauvinism have begun to show signs of nervousness. Since the march of events has discredited his views on war literature, Archibald MacLeish has been moving on to higher irresponsibilities—from literary to global politics. The unsolicited opinions of Oliver Allston, until they are quaintly exhumed by some Van Wyck Brooks of the future, are as dead as the late George Apley. The J. Donald Ducks we have always with us, to be sure, and their squawks and feints continue to deceive nobody. It is time we listened to the other side. To pose questions, to stimulate polemics, and to clarify perspectives are Mr. Farrell's three professed aims. Actually the questions have long been before us, and even now the perspectives are still unclear. It is in the second and crucial phase of this discussion—the polemical phase we are now undergoing—that temperament and equipment have admirably qualified him to engage.

A Note on Literary Criticism, several years ago, registered Farrell's workmanlike attempt to square the problems of a novelist with the convictions of a Marxist, without either rushing to fanatical extremes or yielding to opportunistic compromises. *The League of Frightened Philistines*,[1] his second critical volume, gathers together articles and papers from the past fifteen years, virtually the whole of his highly productive career. The sincerity and consistency of his own record, as he thus invites us to scan it, give weight to the charges he levels against the more volatile. The recent forties have been trying hard to undo the work of the receding twenties. The bulk of Farrell's work is a characteristic product of the intervening decade, which pushed the easy iconoclasms of Mencken and Lewis toward drastic conclusions. Speaking in 1930 for writers "Thirty and Under," he charted the direction he still follows: "In brief, the problem of those of us who own the thirties is more one of social attack than of ethical reversion and traditionalism." Less briefly, through a later sequence of revaluations, he suggests that ours is largely a naturalistic tradition: Lardner and Hemingway lay bare the postwar moral code at home and abroad, Dreiser launches the impetus of twentieth-century fiction with *Sister Carrie*, Mark Twain affirms those democratic values which our contemporaries can only touch in oblique and negative terms. Life is more complicated, for Studs Lonigan and Danny O'Neill, than it was for Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn.

Appreciations of Dostoevsky and Chekhov, though they do not enlarge our awareness of the Russian masters, broaden the orientation of the book; while a footnote on Tolstoy affords a clue to Farrell's own esthetic derivations. When he notes that the theoretical importance of *What Is Art?* has been unduly obscured by Tolstoy's aberrations of taste, he makes us look forward to a promised amplification of this subject. But again, though Farrell's homage to Joyce is worth having, his journalistic account of the *Portrait of the Artist* does no more than retraverse familiar ground. It particularly disappoints us by failing to take advantage of the recently published early draft, *Stephen Hero*, a piece of writing which runs curiously parallel to the vein he himself has exploited. He is happier when deflating pretensions which the accelerating winds of doctrine have lately blown up: intellectual dowsers like Lewis Mumford, shyster dialecticians like Mortimer Adler. Few critics, refusing as staunchly as Farrell to genuflect before the idols of the marketplace, retain so hard-headed a realization of what serious writers are up against. The tendencies that reduce the "free artist" to a hired hand are graphically traced through the short-story industry and the "Luna Park of capitalism," Hollywood. For those who steer clear of commercialization, an essay on "Literature and Ideology" points out, another pitfall lurks in "politicalization." Both dangers are exemplified in a devastating analysis of Darryl Zanuck's *Wilson*.

Unlike most novelists who resort to criticism, Farrell is singularly unconcerned with technique. His amplest technical comments are reserved for Edward Dahlberg, who—at any rate—could use them. By emphasizing "content" at the expense of "structure," Farrell accepts the misleading dichotomy of formalism, a school with which he otherwise disagrees. Frequently, it cannot be overlooked, he makes dubious assumptions or awkward statements. So slight is his feeling for metaphor that he can write, of Hollywood's box-office receipts: "A golden flood of silver began pouring in." So rudimentary is his sense of irony that it produces such sentences as this: "The history of literature for decades now teaches us that it is not unlikely for serious writers to win the merit of having gained the solicitude of the police power." We are not surprised when he confides to us that Dreiser's style has never disturbed him. What should prove more important is that, along with some of Dreiser's weaknesses, he has inherited much of the earlier novelist's strength. Younger writers in turn will profit from Farrell's advice, for he stands today as our most serious and vigorous exponent of naturalism. And, while the issues they raise are more menacing than ever, the naturalists are not yet outmoded. If their determinism means a closer understanding of the forces that shape our society, if their detachment means a writer's devotion to the "objective discipline" of his craft, we should think twice before changing to slicker techniques and more pliable motives.

[1] The League of Frightened Philistines, by James T. Farrell. New York: The Vanguard Press. 210 pages. $2.75.

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Sooner or later the coalition that Farrell rises to denounce—leagued together by fears and suspicions and emergencies, by a frenetic will to believe rather than any common basis for positive belief—is bound to fall apart. Philistinism, for Arnold as well as for Marx, meant nothing more or less than the middle class in its cultural aspect. That class, dominating modern economic and political life, has repeatedly sought and never quite attained a *Gleichschaltung* of artists and thinkers; their resistance, which took the form of Bohemian revolt in the past, has latterly prompted alignments with other classes or parties. Meanwhile the bourgeoisie, with its overwhelming powers of combination and absorption, dangles its baits and doubles its rewards; to succumb to them is the real treason of the intellectuals. When their allegiance is shared by the Philistines, when their talent is shorn by the Zanucks and the Luces, their cynicism is left to discolor our state of mind. Farrell does well to distinguish the cynic from the skeptic, who criticizes precisely because he believes in something better. His credo, when the debris of war hysteria has been cleared away, should reaffirm the great tradition of critical realism. Our realistic novelists, by relieving us of unjustified illusions, have made it possible to avoid another period of postwar disillusionment. And Mr. Farrell, by taking off his shirt, has made it easier for the rest of us to keep ours on.

HARRY LEVIN

Power Politics in the Far East

The Pattern of Soviet Power, by Edgar Snow. New York: Random House. 219 pages. $2.75.

IF FOR NO OTHER REASON, *The Pattern of Soviet Power* is a rewarding book for the cogency of Edgar Snow's views on the Far East. He presents evidence which indicates that Russia will be in on the "kill" against Japan. He tells us what the price will be for Soviet participation. He says bluntly that the problem of coördinating Soviet and American policy in China is the most important one facing us in the realm of foreign relations. He sees China with her two governments and two ways of life as "the only place on the globe where America's vital interests were crowding in directly on Soviet frontiers." At a moment in history when Stalin and Soong are talking things over in Moscow, the author's ability to trace the devious paths of United States and Soviet policies in China is especially valuable. Snow, who "can see nothing but trouble ahead if we do not candidly face the known facts about Russia and China," does his best to present them plainly. He records the Kremlin's mounting impatience with Chungking for what the Soviets considered Chiang's failure fully to prosecute the war against Japan; he probes at the nub of our possible conflict with Russia and contrasts the aims and methodology of the Chinese Communists and Chiang's Nationalists; and he makes it quite clear to wishful-thinking Americans that *feudal* China—whether under Yenan or Chungking direction—"has never known the luxury of capitalist democracy as liberals know it, and probably never will."

In attempting to analyze our course of action in relation to China, Snow reports a conversation he had with Franklin D. Roosevelt last winter in which the late President declared that the plan to patch up the differences between

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Chungking and Yenan had fallen down because "the Kuomintang has raised some perfectly absurd objections to the amendments of the Yenan government." Roosevelt also said he was convinced that the Communists were actually trying to bring about an "agrarian-reform" program and not communism. Quite flatly the President stated that he had been determined "to work with both governments in China . . . and I intend to go on doing so until we can get them together."

Since that interview our policy toward the two Chinas has shifted and we seem to be committed to doing business solely with Chiang. This shift suggests several knotty problems not only to Snow but undoubtedly to Stalin, Molotov and Company, who are trying in their slow, Oriental way to figure out the pattern of American power. Is it, Snow asks, because we feel that we can count on Chiang in a potential war against Russia? If so, the author has some pertinent words of warning on this subject which the State and War Departments might, but probably will not, take to heart.

The pattern of Soviet power as Snow saw it evolve in Eastern Europe is woven of Russia's desires for frontier security with a few strong threads of "capitalist-encirclement" fears. The author believes that if the last two wars had cost us more than 30 million military and civilian casualties we too would attempt to immunize our frontiers against potential invaders. The means the Russians have been utilizing to achieve this immunization should be fairly clear by now. Perhaps there is a tendency by a few headline-seeking reporters to see Bolsheviks under too many beds. Snow seems to give some weight to the remark of a Russian who, in commenting on Eastern Europe, said ". . . no one can say that the Comintern or the Soviet government is bolshevizing these countries. It is true that the Red Army's victories have made many changes possible. But I say it is the people of those countries themselves who are getting rid of fascism and turning them to the only form of government left to them."

Snow emphasizes that Soviet "frontier security" calls for the elimination of hostile land and air bases plus Russia's emergence as a great naval power. Predicting the eventual showdown on control of the Dardanelles, he says wrily: "Stalin can wait because in this he cannot lose." The same may be said to be true for Russia's claims in the Far East.

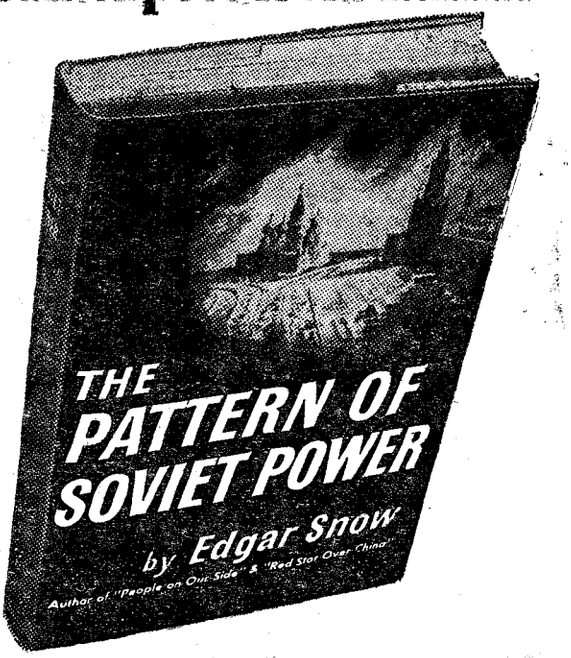
Americans are pondering how far we should (or can) go diplomatically in permitting the pattern of Soviet power to prevail in Europe. Snow, aside from pointing out that the pattern is partly indigenous and not solely made on a Moscow-gold loom, has no easy answer. But he does offer a strong hint: "If our diplomacy with Russia has been ineffective [and Snow thinks it has] it is because we have not stated our political aims with clarity and conciseness in a manner which the Russians could consider as a serious alternative to their methods of establishing stability and security. . . ." The same may hold for the countries of Europe. Allied policy (which only *seems* to be a lack of policy) in parts of liberated Europe offers no decent alternative for genuine anti-fascists in the so-called Russian sphere—even if the Russians were willing to let the policy fight it out for popular favor with the Soviet formula.

Other sections of Snow's book on Russia and her people and her customs are not startlingly new or different. That's fine. It is about time we stopped expecting reports on

Edgar Snow

author of RED STAR OVER CHINA and PEOPLE ON OUR SIDE

reports on what the world can expect from Russia



THE AMERICAN people have come to rely upon Edgar Snow for honest, understanding reporting on Russia. He does not judge a country by what he sees in its store windows. Neither does he gloss over what he thinks is wrong. His reports are based on knowledge and experience.

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Russia to change whenever another reporter shook a book together like a giant kaleidoscope. The only correspondents who are going to find something sensationally "new" will be those who go with a particular warp and woof. Snow's book is lifted above the average newspaper or magazine reporting level because of his ability to clarify where others confuse, to interpret and predict where others orate and prate, and because he still knows which people are on our side even if part of the war is over.

RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH

One Man's Peace

The Anatomy of Peace, by Emery Reves. New York: Harper and Brothers. 275 pages. $2.

TO MR. REVES, the world order projected at San Francisco is illusory, as intangible and fleeting as a Stettinius smile. Mr. Reves's rejection of the United Nations Organization is unrelated to the controversies over great-power dominance, voting procedure in the Council, regional blocs or trusteeship. All this to him is mere froth on a tide running irresistibly to a third world conflict—and to a fourth and a fifth unless the peoples of the world learn that the nation-state structure itself is "the only and ultimate cause of the recurrent international wars." Sovereignty resides in the community, and in the twentieth century the community is the world. Since peace is simply order based on law, the people must withdraw their allegiance from the archaic nation-state and pledge it instead to a legal order above nations. *Inter-nationalism* is a snare and a delusion. The nation must go.

Mr. Reves phrases his indictment as baldly as that. Indeed, a good case is here so dogmatically overstated that what E. B. White calls a "furious" book is too frequently merely peevish. If the cause of universal law is not to remain quixotic, its champions must be found among those very leftists and internationalists whom Mr. Reves pillories and dismisses as arrant fools.

They are fools because they refuse to see that economic change on a national basis offers no solution: "Full employment within the compartmented political structure of sovereign nation-states is either a myth or fascism"; the real clash is between industrialism and political nationalism. Only on a worldwide scale, with free migration and trade and a global currency, can we partake of the fruits of scientific and technological progress. Within the national state, capitalism and socialism have come to resemble each other and both are traveling the road to serfdom.

Mr. Reves performs the interesting but deadly logical feat of reducing all contemporary issues and struggles to a chaos of shrieks and tropisms. For instance: "As an explanation of this Second World War, no reasonable man can accept Hitler or Mussolini, or fascism, or totalitarianism, or Japanese militarism, or French corruption, or Bolshevism, or British appeasement, or American isolationism. . . . They tell nothing at all of the why and wherefore of the Second World War." Just as we are settling down in our padded cells, Mr. Reves returns with the Social Contract dressed up as a strategy for world revolution—and asks us to usher in the Rule of Law.

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Whose law? What principles of justice will inform it? There is little point in these queries; Mr. Reves seems content with easy verbal victories such as the destruction, by hyphen, of internationalism. Toward the end, his rickety edifice is in utter collapse: "If we cannot attain to universalism and create union by common consent and democratic methods as a result of rational thinking—then rather than retard the process, let us precipitate unification by conquest." Wriggling through his vacuum, Mr. Reves comes out less than a stone's throw from Clare Boothe Luce; an unenviable position for a peace-loving man. RICHARD N. KELLY

Stateside Army

The Brick Foxhole, by Richard Brooks. New York: Harper and Brothers. 238 pages. $2.50.

THIS IS a pretentious book, tough on the outside and soft on the inside. It is a novel about the soldiers who never get out of the States; specifically, it is the story of a young artist doing animation in what is presumably a Marine film unit. This man is semi-articulate and sensitive, if not very bright. He feels himself wasted, doomed to emptiness and frustration because, unlike people really in the war, he is denied the opportunity to kill. At any rate he is ripe for rumor. He overhears a barracks conversation about the promiscuity of a woman named Mary and assumes that this must be his wife, since, by an odd coincidence, she is also named Mary. He hitchhikes to Washington for a weekend, takes in a whorehouse, gets accused of murder and has an even unhappier time than he ordinarily does at camp.

Sergeant Brooks's hero would be more sympathetic if he were less of a jerk. He represents a class of intellectuals who interpret the world in terms of their own navel. The other characters are equally without depth; there are a great many high-sounding and undoubtedly well meaning words about anti-Semitism and truth and prejudice of all kinds, but they are spoken by people interested only in themselves. When Sergeant Brooks talks of war, getting off such statements as "the best soldiers are those who enjoy the pastime of killing," he is just wrong. When he is preoccupied with sex, as he is during a good part of the book, he is adolescent and a little embarrassing.

And he is presenting a facet of Stateside barracks life as the whole works. It is true that we have fascists in our Army, but it is also true that our Army is fighting an anti-fascist war. It is true that the Army exerts a certain depersonalizing and even brutalizing influence on its men. But only to a certain extent and under certain conditions; it is too easy to consider these purely negative factors as the sum of even the Stateside Army. It is true that there are many artists who are not doing what they could do in the war, but they do not all succumb to self-pity and neuroses. It is also true that many men in the Army do not understand what the war is about and do not see their own part in perspective. That is no reason why someone writing about them should do the same.

SERGEANT WALTER BERNSTEIN

Anglophilia

A Texan in England, by J. Frank Dobie. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 285 pages. $2.50.

I NOTICE that the reviewers have been harmonious in their praise of Professor Dobie's account of his honeymoon year with English civilization. I am sorry that in joining their chorus I shall sing a little off key. Obviously he fell in love with England, and wished to write a book to do her honor, though he had no such intention when he accepted

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his Cambridge professorship. This was a love-at-first-sight affair, in the fashion of earlier American travelers.

Americans should admire England and love her too, and for most of the things Professor Dobie praises: gardens, well kept farms, Cambridge University, fens, pubs, sturdy yeomen who resist innovation, skylarks, courage and conservatism. But the Professor in his *Benedicite* is not content with praising merely, as was Oliver Wendell Holmes, for instance, in *Our Hundred Days in Europe*. More than he realizes, I imagine, *A Texan in England* is a stick to beat a dog with. And the dog is modern America. For Professor Dobie modern America consists of Texas (where there is still space to retire into) and the great vulgar cities of the East. In modern America, too, President Harding seems still to be in the White House. Nothing regenerative has happened to us in the years since the quiet revolution of 1932. One almost suspects a kind of method in the way in which the worst features of contemporary American life are consistently compared with the best of Churchillian England.

Like many of us, Professor Dobie would be glad to persuade his countrymen that England is our natural ally and that we should work together to use the best of our common democratic heritage. The moral of his book is, rather, that all of us who love space should, if we can, escape to the lawn of King's College courtyard where "a half-dozen pied wagtails" afford as much relief from "human constriction as a remuda of dun horses galloping across a prickly pear flat in the middle of a hundred thousand acres of unpeopled chaparral and mesquite."

WILLARD THORP

A Reader's List

PLANNING No. 235: Framework of a Four Year Plan (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the *New Republic*, 25 cents). PEP's latest broadsheet is a superb example of the application of wartime lessons to peacetime needs. The editors observe that the British government's individual plans for education, social security, health and housing must be integrated into a larger strategy for social and economic advance. They suggest a ". . . Four Year Plan embodying a time and progress schedule for economic reconstruction, whose main essentials will be clearly understood by every citizen. . . ." The broadsheet then sets forth with considerable detail the assumptions and general techniques that such a program would employ. Any plan, says PEP, must recognize the requirements of British industry: the problem will in reality be one of underproduction and a lack of industrial capacity. These limitations will prevent the immediate lifting of priorities, for plant reëquipment must precede new autos and new washing machines. And it is important to know how much will be available for investment and for consumption. PEP estimates the ". . . total national product attainable in each of the four years [1946-49] under review . . ." and shows how this income might be distributed. A plan of such wide scope, the editors warn, must include a budget for manpower; no employment and production policy can be really effective without this analysis.

THERE CAN BE JOBS FOR ALL! by Maxwell S. Stewart (Public Affairs Committee, Pamphlet No. 105, 10 cents). This pamphlet is a masterful summary of Sir William Beveridge's recent book on full employment. All the essen-

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tial points are well digested. The layman who may be easily bored by lengthy economic technicalities will find it an interesting and simply written exposition. Mr. Stewart observes that full employment necessitates the matching of men with jobs. The attainment of this goal may be guaranteed by assuring adequate total demand and by properly organizing the labor market. Sir William's proposals, says Mr. Stewart, imply a socialization of demand without necessarily socializing production. This was done in wartime; there is no reason why it cannot be done in peacetime. The amount of government spending required to employ all our resources would be measured by a new governmental budget; this method will provide high employment, yet will not endanger ". . . all the essential liberties that are more precious than the right to a job."

DRAGON HARVEST, by Upton Sinclair, (Viking, $3). Presidential Agent Lanny Budd continues his travels in the fifth book of Upton Sinclair's version of history in our time. He meets some of the democratic elements of prewar Europe but more often is found visiting Hitler at Godesberg, Pétain in Madrid and Abetz in Paris. *Dragon Harvest* has the virtue of unifying the story of the rise of fascism with its corollary, appeasement and civil war. If there was an evil and insane genius named Hitler, there also was a "business-first" Prime Minister named Chamberlain. If there was a rout of the great French army in 1940, there were the "two hundred families," a synonym for the French "business-first" version of appeasement. The pieces of a broken Europe fall neatly into place in Sinclair's story-telling.

Contributors

INGE KAISER, a native of Germany, attended the University of Texas for four years and then spent a year with the Oil Workers' International Union. She is now in Washington working for the War Production Board.

WALTER E. PACKARD, formerly director of the Resettlement Division of the Resettlement Administration, is a consulting agricultural engineer in Berkeley, California. He served as chairman of the Central Valley Project Committee of the California Housing and Planning Association.

HARRY LEVIN is an associate professor of English Literature at Harvard University. He is the author of *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction.*

RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH recently returned from a year's assignment as a correspondent in the Soviet Union. He is the author of the new book, *These Are the Russians*, published by Harper and Brothers.

RICHARD N. KELLY, formerly associated with the Union for Democratic Action, is now working with the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

SERGEANT WALTER BERNSTEIN, who has served in our armed forces both in this country and abroad for more than four years, was released from the Army last week. His book, *Keep Your Head Down*, was recently published by Viking.

WILLARD THORP is an associate professor of English in Princeton University and chairman of the American Civilization Program there. He spent the year 1931-32 in England as a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies.

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it is only in essays written for Haldeman-Julius that Dr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. Most standard publishers are afraid to issue works that are frowned on by the orthodox and conventional. Such a restriction is never encountered in the editorial department of the H-J Publications. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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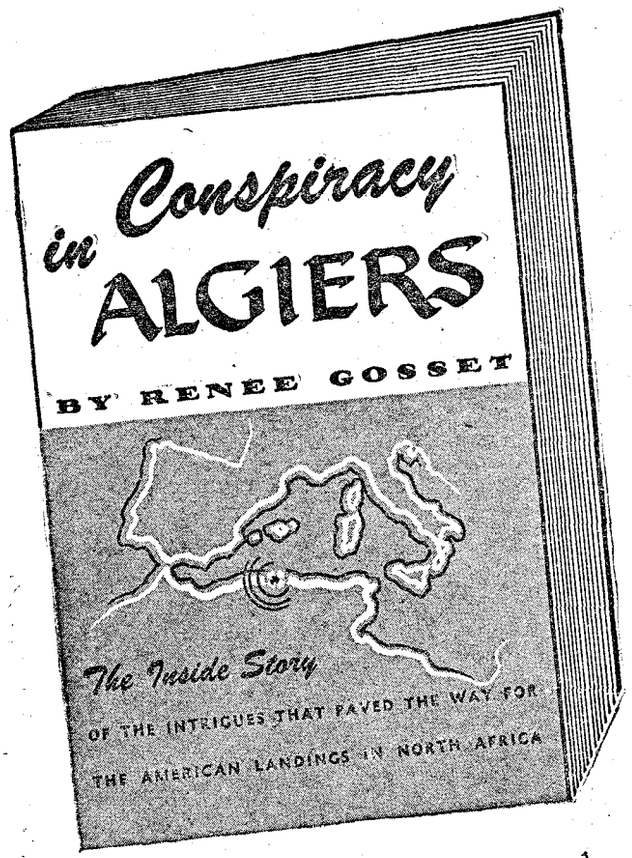
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